167 /312 cont./ Some years ago, old Taruiri, having learned
[464] from some Chiriguano that Brazilians were "cariñosos," that is, generous, had the idea of going to their country to find work, for which he hoped to be well paid. He banded together with 45 other Chiriguano before whom he held out the glittering fortune which awaited them in the country to the east. With this adventurous spirit and boldness which characterize the Guarani, they did not hesitate to take off toward the unknown. They first passed through Chané territory and followed the course of the Parapiti to the desert. There they rushed boldly into these unexplored regions, dried-up expanses, which separate the Isoso from Chiquitos. They were all armed with bows and arrows to defend themselves from a possible attack by the Tsiraksa, the tracks of whose squared-off sandals they often
[271] [284] saw in the sand. No water, of course, but only sipóy roots, which permitted them to stand the thirst. After 12 days of walking, this band arrived at Chiquitos, then from there reached the Paraguay River and Corumbá. Taruirí was not a little surprised to find brothers there, "that is," he explained to me, "people who spoke my language, badly it is true, but who nevertheless made themselves understood." When I inquired discreetly as to the success of his business over there, Taruirí answered, shaking his head and in a tone shot through with sadness and disillusionment: "All that was only a lie," todo era engaño.

Taruirí does not know and will never know that by doing this he accomplished an exploit that would be the pride and glory of an explorer. For him, it was a question of a simple trip, scarcely longer and more arduous than the one he undertook in the past to go to Argentina.

• 193 539 C46 489 Does anyone want other modern examples of their spirit of adventure and of that ease with which the Guarani move about? I transcribe as such the curious tale told to me by the Indian Cipriano from the Ivu mission, who, confused as he may be, refers to definitely authentic facts:

/312 cont./

C 173 539 648 484 C [643]

In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Machareti where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Machareti.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Machareti, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

C 175 648

The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núnez

[Text continues on P. 30]

/327 cont./
brutal people butcher them. The Chané are so subject to the Chiriguana that it is enough for them to see a Chiriguana to sit down without resisting, allowing the Chiriguana to do what they like with them. The Chiriguana take them along like flocks of sheep. They eat the ones they want and use the others for work in their houses and fields. If they want to eat one, they only tell him to go and wash in the river and he does it without talking back. He comes back naked: the Chiriguana command their children to take bows and arrows, and the poor Chané tries /328/ to escape the arrows without, however, daring to flee from the spot until he dies riddled with arrows, to the great joy of all who look at him. They cut him in pieces and eat him either grilled or roasted, with corn and much ají /peppers/. For war they use Chané who they think are brave and robust. They treat them according to their barbaric customs and put them in front of themselves: if they do not fight well, they kill them with arrow shots from behind." (Lizarraga. Vol. I, pp. 259-260.)

Last year, going from Cuevo to Igüembé, I had taken a Chiriguano guide who spoke Spanish fairly well and who had lived among the Chané in childhood. He told me in his own way about these wars of former days. His involved narrative recalls that of the Spanish monk. Later I sojourned for some time among the Chané who in their turn alluded to their fights with the Chiriguano and to the cannibalistic customs of the latter. "The Tapui are not the Ava. In times past they used to fight against the Ava." The Ava used to take the women and keep them in captivity. They used to marry the captives. From the sons of the Ava issued the Tapui, they are sons of the women they carried away. The Chané are sons of the captives. When the Chané talk together, it is with words that one does not understand. Formerly the Karai (Whites) used to fight the Ava around Cochabamba. The Karai pursued them to the lower part and left them in Paraguay. The Paraguayans are sons of the ancient Ava. In olden days the Ava used to eat the Tapuí when they made war against them. "The Ava used to eat us," the Chané would say, "and that is why we detest them."

H Métraux--SS E-5 (1939) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/328 cont./

The Chané confirmed to me the sayings of my informant and assured me that the Chiriguano used to eat them in times past (1).

1. Matienzo (pp. 166-167) expresses himself on the subject of the Chiriguano and the Chané in almost the same words as Lizárraga: "In the land there is a province of the Charcas and close to the city there are some immigrant Indians who are said to be chiriguanaes, warlike people, very cruel, indomitable, and they eat human flesh, live in the cordilleras, have no occupation other than fighting and killing and eating Indians and using them as slaves: they go out at night to plunder on the plains which are near the cordilleras, where some Indians subject to their sovereignty live, and they seize them by the thousand and two thousands and eat them and have others to fatten for eating, and others to serve as slaves: these Indians, out of fear of the chiriguanaes, fled from their land, which had some very beautiful and fertile valleys, thirty and forty leagues from the city of the Plata, and went to some plains and deserts which were customarily deserted because of the lack of water: they live entirely on yucas and cardoons, are more than eighty thousand, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. The deserts under discussion here and where the Chané took refuge are none other than those of the lower Parapití where numerous Chané now live, in spite of the poverty of this arid region.

It is not at all surprising that the Chiriguano have kept alive the memory of their struggles with the Chané. These ended only in the last years of the 18th century. In 1765 we see the

/6 cont./

133 comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short
[241] section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of
[341] all: there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and
the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes.
From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and
pleasing appearance as it rises some 2,340 meters above sea
level. For which reason no doubt it is enlivened with the trees
which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward
Montenegro along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacaqui, Barrón, and
Casadero, the first two found on the right bank and the
latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the
slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only
that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through
[134] them is very bad. Casadero Hill abounds in jaguars, and it
is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to
go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before
one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one
called Nañolama, which attracts the attention of all because
it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which
rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending
to the southeast; the Piray and Pesquiti rivers wash the base
of Nañolama.

/7/ Montenegro has a somewhat irregular plain, but it
is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at
the Pesquiti River in Mariara, where there is another hill re-
nowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one.
The Pesquiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river
itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock,
forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to
leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage
is also quite rough.

133 From Mariara to Ivo there are hills and rises of little im-
• 173 portance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Ivaure,
648 Saavedra, and Iavaisuai, which last separates the provinces
of Acaro from that of Cordillera; on Iavaisuai there are an
infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, ac-
cording to what they say and the name Iavaisuai, "Inca's House,"
was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

4: Mono--SD 36-1 (1909-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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(173)
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of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill without daring to go down to the pampas of Carapariciito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Iaseweeta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it and the cordilleras to the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful: to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and streams, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/5/ Rivers and Lakes.

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

4: Nino--95 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/65/

Chapter Two

Origin. Language. Statistics

Introduction

There are many men, even among those who are considered wise, who on the great question of the origin of man pay homage to certain theories which sane reason, good logic, and well-understood science reject as absurd.

The ultimate absurdity in this series of disquisitions is the delirium of Darwin, who would have man, a rational being, originally descend from another being that was irrational, that is, the monkey. /The remainder of p. 65 and the first four paragraphs of p. 66 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 66 follows./

What can properly be called history develops in peoples to the extent that they have advanced along the path of civilization.

Savage tribes cannot have a history in the strict sense of the word, because they lack civilization and the adequate means for obtaining it, principally writing. The latter is doubtless the great lever which has raised peoples from their prostration and ignorance.

• 173 [74] It is certain that the Chiriguano do not have a written history, but they do not lack certain traditions, more or less fabulous, with respect to their origin.

/67/ And as for matters dealing with that history which we could call modern, they do have knowledge of relatively recent epochs, the truth of which cannot be doubted, inasmuch as these historical facts are related to the conquest of these regions by the Spaniards, as will be seen in the following section.

4: Nino--96 M-2 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/67 con./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the place from which it came, and the time the immigration took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call [29] "Tarapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances. 208 What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions, such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth century, which quite justly might be called century of the globes?

193 They recount that "Aguara Tupa," Fox-God, tried to destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water: he then opened the gates or doors of the seas and flooded the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called those of the sky "Iparu," flood, and thus the human race perished. But before there took place the total destruction of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a woman took her two children, a male and a female, put them in a "Chogüe," big gourd, left them to the mercy of the waters, and, when these went down, they found themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

• 193 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Mani," [55] which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/97 cont./

•173 [551] never name dead persons, with the result that the principal events are not known because the names of those great persons who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization. the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 167 648 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when the New World was discovered, because they had killed one of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Cariow who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 648 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their authority in this place give the impression that they originally came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their experience in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, coming into Paraguay. .During the campaign they defended themselves and built fortifications at several points, of which I know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvo Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

726 712

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/98 cont./

174 112 covering an area of about 2,000 meters; it ends in a hill surrounded by the same fortifications. It had its lookout and a small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 112 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large; consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow; the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything

● 173 118 else. The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that those then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Castón says about the time when the Cruceñis /people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place which today is occupied by the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

194 /99/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin: the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

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The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

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793 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

796 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/133 cont./

776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

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2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[795] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes and the loss of eternal blessings.

4: Nino--317 M-9 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/233 cont./

301 powerful being reflected upon them because of the weakness
773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia munti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail: then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence: at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

[629] [178]

535 184 • 173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille: couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Membirári and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Gilracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/363 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragüe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the Mbaqa páure is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagüe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[537] 1. In the towns where the Mbaqa páure is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the Ayarine; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the Mbaqa páure

627 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the ayarine, but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the Mbaqa páure until a year has passed. Here are the words of [539] the song: Tavia, Tavia -- Ereconiye mbaqa páure -- Tiriomi, tiriomi -- Ancua chopi -- Chopi nano saraviyé -- Eh! Eh! Uetepeco, güeremeso -- Yagua tairari, yagua tairari -- Yurumbopi -- Yémanta -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the mbaqa paure, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory
● 173 of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of
643 Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the
[727] women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gũiracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gũiracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is
411 very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/161 cont./

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said.

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her.

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

6: Nordenskiöld--20 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/167 cont./

to conquer the land. His description of the Chiriguano as a cannibalistic race of extremely low standing /168/ surely originated in his own imagination. The tradition about these battles has been preserved in the mountain valleys.

The territory of the Chiriguano, in spite of the centuries-long valiant defense, was conquered, step by step, in the Spanish era. As recently as 1890 part of them made a last attempt at rebellion, but they were defeated, as has been mentioned, in the battle at Curuyuqui, on the plain of Boyuovis. About 5,000 Indians had gathered there and for a whole day fought the whites in an unequal battle against fire-arms. The battle had begun in the morning and it had not yet ended in the evening when it grew dark. The situation was becoming extremely unpleasant for the whites, since their ammunition was almost gone. Unfortunately, however, the morale of the Indians was broken. They abandoned their entrenchments in the quiet of the night.

Another very important chapter in the history of these Indians is the long and persistent effort of the missionaries to conquer the land of the Indians in a comparatively peaceful manner. This is treated in detail in the literature.

Here, however, I do not wish to speak of the history of these Indians as we know it through the literature, but of the Indian as historian.

If one talks to the Indians, they do not know much about their own history; their tradition does not go back very far. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti told me they had first lived on the upper Rio Parapiti (1), but were driven away from there by a great chief. Some remained where they are now living, others set out through the Chaco to the Rio Paraguay, which river,

1. This is confirmed by Viedma: Descripcion geografica y estadistica de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Coleccion Pedro de Angelis. Buenos Aires, 1836. Vol. III. Pages 180-181.

C 175 648
C 175 797
Ca 829
Ca [173]
C 173 648
[13]
Ca [173]
Ca [167]

6: Handschrift--21 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SP10 Chiriguano SP10
Chaco SFB
Ca 173 Gra 168 Chiriguano
Ca 173 Gra 151

/166 cont./
as has been said, /169/ is not unfamiliar to the Indians. On the Rio Paraguay Atowahen /Atawak/ are also found.

The Chiriguano first lived on the lower Rio Parapiti and were driven away from there by the Chané. This is [illegible] 80 and 81 appear here/ possibly "official history," for more probably the Chiriguano drove the Chané out of the fertile valleys of the upper Rio Parapiti.

Batiraya told me everything that he knew about the history of the Chané Indians on the Rio Parapiti. The last great /170/ chief was Batiraya's uncle, Aringui. He led many Indians of his tribe to Argentina to work. His predecessor was Tämbäe. Before him Ochoäpi was invested with the position of chief. In his time the whites began to push into the country. This chief is described as an important man who sought to introduce the manners and customs of the whites among his Indians. Ochoäpi is known for his extensive journeys and his persecution of sorcerers. He was said to have been in Buenos Aires. Before him Chöerbori had the position of chief. In his time the whites had not yet come as far as the lower Rio Parapiti. Here the tradition comes to an end. The chiefs mentioned here were of the same family /Geschlecht/, but the rule does not pass from father to son.

Ca 173

I could relate a bit of history about the Chané on the Rio Ityuro, but I do not wish to be busying with too many names. There, too, tradition does not go back far, three generations, that is all.

In the legends of these Indians, several of which I have given below, we learn nothing about the history of these peoples. No historical events seem to have been recast into legends there. They have entirely different themes.

It is really quite strange that among these Indian tribes their history, the names of the chiefs, have been forgotten, whereas the legends have undoubtedly been preserved, though in altered form, from generation to generation for centuries. It is chiefly the wide geographical distribution of the legends that speaks for their great age.